1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off then the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
596 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
264 father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest, both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*. The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must remain standing.

596 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the guest, palm upward.

596 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-in-law is always that "distance has not been kept." This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed. In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

576 and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial
606 hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear
291 and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

581 Because of the veneration of ancestors and the neces-
858 sity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

582 Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

581 The influence of wealth on marriage is of several
565 kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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512 462 bowl of food in to her husband, presenting it to him humbly with both hands. She then folds and stacks along the rear wall of the *k'ang* the felts, skins, and quilts that serve as bedding, and sweeps out the house and courtyard.

462 233 It is also woman's work to feed the livestock, milk the cows, and go out to fetch earth, carried in a basket on her back, to dump in the stables where the trampling of the animals mixes it with manure and urine which will eventually be carried out to put on the fields as fertilizer. If a cart is needed in the day's work, it is the wife who harnesses the horse or ox. When it is time to grind flour, it is she who does the grinding, either pounding a little at a time in a stone mortar or taking a larger quantity to a grindstone turned by animal power. When it rains, it is her duty to take the small herds of sheep, cows, and horses out to graze in the valley or on the hill slopes, while her husband, smoking his pipe, huddles by the brazier at home to keep warm or goes to visit his friends.

462 241 Women also work in the fields. On the field nearest home the Monguors use stable manure; on distant fields they use a fertilizer made by burning clods of earth and grass. The wife carries the ashes in a basket on her back and spreads them on the field. Most husbands help their wives in this heavy work, but it seems not to be their duty to do so. Plowing and harrowing are the main agricultural work of the men, but even in this the women frequently help them. It is not unusual to see a woman plowing an' harrowing. When the heavy preparatory work has been done, husband and wife together sow and later weed the fields. They also work together in reaping the harvest, carrying it to the threshing floor, and threshing it—though there are a few lazy men who will not work after the sowing and the weeding, leaving the harvesting, carrying, and threshing to the women.

462 294 Whenever a woman has a few minutes to spare she reaches for her sewing box. Sewing is work that Monguor women love and at which they are very skillful. They can often be seen working at night by the light of a twisted wick sputtering in a saucer of vegetable oil, patching the clothes of the family. A housewife is expected to make all the new clothes for her husband, her children, and herself. Although she is always the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night, she has a little more spare time in the winter, when there is no work in the fields, and this is the season for sewing.

603 462 592 606 It is the grandmother who manages the whole female side of the community, supervising and allocating work to the daughters-in-law and the older girls. A good manager rotates the work so that each woman will have an opportunity to do needle work and so that pregnant women get lighter work. It is the grandmother also who soothes the quarrels that inevitably break out in such a family, and endeavors to keep them from be-

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

603 462 592 606 coming serious. At the same time, a grandmother is a woman who by age and rank is entitled to be a little cranky and to have her peculiar ways. If she cannot keep the peace and maintain order among the daughters-in-law, she appeals to the grandfather, who orders the husband of the woman who is considered at fault to tackle the problem by admonishing his wife or if necessary by beating her.

Generally speaking, however, such little incidents within the family do not turn out to be serious; a daughter-in-law is expected to be demure and obedient, to hold her tongue and not to display jealousy, but at the same time it is considered only human to allow her to display a little bit of "temperament" from time to time.

562 In spite of the fact that Monguor women do very heavy work, they are usually happy and contented and it is the normal thing for husband and wife, even though they did not make their own marriage, to have real respect and love for each other. In their own little family within the extended family husband and wife usually talk everything over together, giving the wife the feeling that she has a responsible part in their joint concerns; while, as for the husband, it is easy for him to be fond of a wife who is so obedient and works so hard.

In public, Monguor women retain enough of the old nomad tradition to be much more free, especially in their attitudes to and conversations with men, than Chinese women. While they are bound by strict rules of etiquette and are likely to be rebuked by their elders, especially at home, if they infringe these rules, they are not in public at a loss how to behave when they encounter a man; they feel perfectly free to talk with him and they do not blush or look in the other direction, as old-fashioned Chinese women used to do. They enjoy going to the big public festivals at the lamaseries, and to the annual assembly of the clan; they like to sit on the grass in mixed groups, men and women together, talking, laughing, singing, watching dances, and making merry. A woman is not embarrassed to sing a song in public; and when she is dressed in her best clothes she likes to stroll, preening herself, through the crowd, displaying her costume and her magnificent headdress. Nor are women afraid to do their own shopping; at the fairs they confidently examine the wares for sale and hold their own in bargaining over prices. In the country Monguors do not consider it shocking to see a man riding to his fields with his wife riding pillion behind him; and during the long and tedious work of weeding man and wife both like to sing in the open air.

It is perhaps worth making a few brief comparisons between the status of men and women in the Monguor society and in the greater Mongol society from which the Monguors derive. In the thirteenth century William of Rubruck reported of the Mongols that:

It is the duty of the women to drive the carts, get the dwellings on and off them, milk the cows, make butter and

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

EDUCATION OF THE CHILD

603 In their early years children are brought up as much by their grandparents as by their parents. The grandfather and grandmother play with the children all day long, carrying them on their backs, holding them in their arms, fondling them, and making slaves of themselves like devoted nursemaids—and the children love them as they would a nurse. The children know very well that it is to their grandparents that they must look for sweets and candies and extra delicacies, and that when grandfather goes for a walk they may go along with him. Boys and girls are treated with the same affection.

603 606 In this relationship lies the deepest secret of why daughters-in-law become attached to the families into which they marry. Although a girl is not consulted about her marriage, although she comes to know her husband only after she has been married to him, and although she lives in an extended household where she must adjust herself to the other daughters-in-law, the fondness of the grandparents for her children goes a long way to smooth inevitable frictions and jealousies.

882 It is when the boys begin to grow up that they cease to be regarded as children and lose some of their intimate contact with their grandparents. They like to leave the family courtyard to play with other boys; and as they get bigger, small jobs are assigned to them. They begin to go out with the herds and flocks to the pastures, to help with the farming, and to learn from their fathers how to make tools. The girls help their mother in the kitchen, gather fuel, tend animals in the stalls and stables, and learn to sew. Before she is married, each girl works on her "hope chest," and under her mother's direction prepares most of the clothes that she will take with her when she marries, including the embroidered girdle and the monumental ceremonial hat and fancy boots. Through learning to cook and sew, to look after animals, and to understand farming in her own family, a girl learns how to become a good daughter-in-law.

867 The Monguors are not a people who have a fondness for learning. There are few villages that have a school, and in any case girls never go to school. The education for life of both boys and girls is mainly in the family. Children are not prevented from watching and listening to anything that goes on in the crowded extended family and in the village. At a very early age they know which woman in the village is pregnant and when the birth of the child is expected. They know how many animals are owned by each family in the village, how many colts, calves, and lambs there are; how the harvest has turned out and what the current prices are for the horses, cows, sheep, goats, skins, wool, wheat, and millet that the villagers have to sell and what the prices are for the cotton cloth, thread, needles, salt, spices, and so forth that they buy.

A boy accompanies his father to the nearest market town when he goes there to sell wheat and sees the shops, the soldiers, and the crowds. At the monastery festivals

M 585 [431 178] /61 cont'd/

According to what they claim, in former times the bride's parents used to make the present of a handsome horse to the son-in-law at the moment of departure. The custom does not appear to exist any longer.

M [593] The bride's father and mother do not participate in the festivity, but her brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts are all present.

When the bride is on the way, all the guests who stayed overnight follow in a group; the gift bearers wind up the procession. The bride laments all the way, leaning on the bag of straw placed on the horse's neck, her head always enveloped in the coarse veil. These tears, these sobs, constitute a real elegy. She addresses herself aloud to her parents, her brothers, her sisters; she has a good memory about each one of them; she calls to mind their goodness, the gifts; she recalls the animals in the stable, her paternal home... then she is M [606] afraid of the future, of her parents-in-law, whom she does not know; she is afraid of being cursed by her mother-in-law, afraid that the name of her mother will be used in order to curse her. Often in these elegies there are splendid sallies, very naive, very deeply felt; the M [607] girls also /62/ learn this kind of literature in their play; the sisters-in-law teach them, and they teach one another. It is an elegy based on life. Similarly touching ones are heard at burials. (1)

HM 585

1. Timkovski, Voyage, Vol. 2, p. 309 and following. On the preceding day, two lamas go on behalf of the husband-to-be to find out from the parents of the bride whether any obstacles have arisen (German translation: The Mongols do not have the custom of going to get the bride. The evening before the departure they content themselves with sending two men for....). As the day nears, the wife-to-be pays visits to her closest relatives and spends at least one night at the home of each of them having a good time, going walking with her friends, who

Mo 171 /85 cont'd/

In her husband's clan, she keeps her own spirits and sho /sic/ can never be relatively to the new spirits equal to the persons born in her husband's clan. /Cited in English./

b) Relations of the son-in-law with the family of his parents-in-law.

Mo 606 The son-in-law addresses the members of his wife's family in the same way that he addresses those of his own family, but adding the term gadin in speaking of them to a third person.

There are two official visits to be made each year to his parents-in-law; the first at the new year and the second on the fifteenth of the eighth moon. In addition, it is his duty to go to ask about the health of his parents-in-law when they are sick. Likewise he will take part in the festivities which are given at their home on the occasion of a marriage, upon the birth of a first-born child, ...and he will never be absent from the mournings of the family.

It is to be noted that he will always take an active part in festivities and mournings; he does not mix with the guests, he does not have his place at dinner with the guests; but being considered as a member of the family, he will help with the preparations, he will receive the /86/ guests upon their arrival, and he will dine in the kitchen with the members of the family of his parents-in-law. Again it is his duty to lend a hand to his parents-in-law when they have to use force to defend their rights, as, for example, on the occasion of the suicide or the repudiation of one of his wife's sisters. However, the adage says that relationships must not be too intimate with a related family, and that one must avoid all kinds of commercial transactions. (1)

Mo [762]

Mi Mo 595

1. I summarize in this note, according to l'Histoire des Miao /The History of the Miao/ by Savina, 2nd ed. (1930), pp. 226-229, several resemblances

/88 cont'd/

Ma 614 589

the Mokunda may decide if she shall be remarried or not, and usually he takes the widow's interest into consideration. /Cited in English, with French interpolation indicated by parentheses./

2. Procedure for the Purchase of a Widow

Mo 587 [765]

Let us suppose that a young widow has returned to her parents' home 49 days after the death of her husband. It is one of the facts of the day, known immediately throughout the whole region, all the more because everybody knows she is waiting for a match. The candidates, who have already made inquiries ask through a go-between or even personally for an interview with the widow. This interview ordinarily takes place at the home of a neighbor or friend. If the

Mo [301]

/89/ negotiations have results, the two parties generally give each other a token; the widow gives her ring or her eardrops or her bracelet; the future husband invariably gives his belt. These tokens bestow the right to act with force in case of contest, of rivalry, or of resistance on the part of the widow's owners. Only a few days after the interview, for such marriages move with precipitation and in the greatest secrecy for fear that the widow will be abducted by a rival, the suiter sends to the widow's "own" parents two go-betweens. They present themselves with the traditional jug of gin and arrange for the earnest, which is here insignificant. It generally does not exceed about ten strings of cash. It is a pure formality. They leave from home, enjoining the greatest secrecy, to go to the home of the former parents-in-law of the widow in order to obtain their consent and to discuss the price. The parents-in-law are indeed the owners of the widow.

Mo 587 606

When the parents-in-law are well disposed and willing to discuss in question, they are offered a jug of gin; in the opposite case the jug is taken away, and plans are made to abduct the widow by force and as quickly as possible. But when all goes well, the go-betweens come back the second day and begin by promising the

Mo 587 606 /89 cont'd/ mother-in-law two bricks of tea, which is what they call k'ai k'eou ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which open her mouth"; next they promise the father-in-law 12 strings of cash, called tchou hoen ts'ien, i.e., "the cash which make him take upon himself the responsibility for the marriage." (1) Then they discuss the price of the widow, a

Ma [587] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: The Manchus do not pay "kalin" if the woman demanded is a widow. /Cited in English./

price which ordinarily varies between 150 and 200 strings of cash. Again, since it will be necessary to write a contract, and since all the grandfathers, uncles, and brothers will have to affix their signatures to it, /90/ they discuss the price and the number of signers at the rate of three strings of cash per signature. Three or four relatives of the family take part in this discussion, which always takes place at night.

Mo [583] This sum is called ming ts'ien /"money in the open"/, i.e., the official or public price of the widow. Very often it happens that one or another member of the family secretly lets it be known that he opposes this marriage and that he will cause difficulties.

Ordinarily these recalcitrants take advantage of their relationship to make some easy money. They take them privately and discusses with them in secret the sum of money which their consent is worth. This is the ngan ts'ien, i.e., "the secret money," which very often is far from being insignificant. It is what makes people say that the expenditures made for widows, particularly for those who are going to be second wives, are based on the wealth of the suitor.

Mo 587 585 These negotiations with the surly relatives having produced results and the price being agreed upon, the suitor must make his decision. When consent is given, he does not pay the money; he will pay only on the day when the widow has crossed the threshold of his house. We have seen exactly the opposite for the marriage of

/105 cont'd/

461 462 595 livestock, much land, and few workers, that the wife herself proposes to the husband that he take another partner to lighten her work. But then she herself will try /106/ to find a much younger girl than she, less talented, less beautiful, the kind minus habens, /"having less"/, on the whole a person who will not give offense to her and to whom she will be able to give orders. The T'ou-jen women are very shrewd in this regard. I have even twice known the case of a woman shrewder yet; instead of looking for a second wife for her husband, she had found it more practical to give a second wife to her son, who was scarcely seventeen and already had a wife several years older than he. These cases explain again the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of marriage. We have said above that marriage is not the personal affair of those concerned, and that the T'ou-jen see in it something besides the procreation of descendants.

595 d) Fourth category of polygamists: that of those who want to have two wives to enjoy them.

This category is rather rare. It is always dangerous, say the elders, to take a second wife when the first has children and does not want to hear polygamy mentioned. Those who proceed further end up by taking a concubine to sell the official wife, as the adage says. Besides, says another adage, "Women are like medicine; one must not take too much." Polygamy is therefore far from being general among the T'ou-jen. For my part, I believe that this chapter will gain a great deal by being carefully reviewed and corrected in many ethnology books.

3. Procedure for the Purchase of a Concubine

As a general rule, the husband first proposes to his wife that he take a concubine. If the wife will not listen and if the husband is very eager to do it, he will have recourse to a woman friend of his wife or even to one of her parents /relatives?/ in order to convince her. If that does not succeed, the affair is usually /107/ shelved.

606 If the wife consents, the husband will send someone to the wife's

/107 cont'd/

595 family to announce his intention to them. The envoy will bring the
606 traditional jug of gin and will say that their daughter has given her consent to her husband's wishes for such and such a reason. Then he will beg the parents not to make difficulties for the son-in-law. His mission will be easy to carry out when it is a question of sterility, of widowhood, or of lack of workers. He will meet difficulties, often serious, when he has a case in the fourth category of polygamists to present.

595 The purpose of this interview is above all to come to an under-
762 standing with this family, who will claim to have given their daughter to be the sole mistress of the house. Then, it is a precautionary measure. Experience has taught that these unions are often disastrous, and that it is among them that the greatest number of suicide is found. Now we know the T'ou-jens' profound fear of suicides, which regularly ruin the families concerned. In case of suicide, the clans of the mother and father of the unfortunate woman present themselves in order to demand an account of the death of their daughter. If before concubinage it has been possible to obtain the consent of the family, later, if ever the misfortune comes, there will be more chance for an understanding. The husband first asks for his wife's consent because he also knows that suicide is her supreme weapon and that he can do nothing against it.

595 The second wife that the T'ou-jen takes is either a girl or a
587 widow. If she is a widow, they follow the procedure for the marriage of widows; the price of a concubine widow is double or triple that of an official wife. If the second wife is a girl, they go through all the phases of the marriage of girls.

595 Well-to-do families rarely give their daughters to be concubines. Poor families will "resign themselves" to it wholeheartedly, fascinated by the extraordinary compensations which they receive for this "sacrifice." The price of girl concubines /108/ go up to 300 strings of cash and more, without counting the clothes, the dinner, and the rest; which proves abundantly that the financial situation plays a fundamental role in polygamy.

/116 cont'd/

000 in-law until death. 4. Furnishing of one's person by adoption in order to obtain a wife.

1. Exchange of a Girl for the Furnishing of Service until the Death of the Parents

Mo 583 608 606 Let us suppose parents, poor or rich, advanced in age, and having a single daughter. If the family is well-to-do, in time it will have procured a second wife; nevertheless the case occurs in which it has not done so. The parents prize their daughter and are persuaded that she cannot do without them and will never leave them. Convinced wrongly or rightly of the attachment their daughter feels Mo [591] for them, they look for a way to avoid being separated from her by giving her a husband who will come to live with them and work their lands. The daughter will bear children who will be the joy of their old age, and the son-in-law will be a pious son to them who will serve them until the time when they go to join their ancestors. That is at least the explanation given for this custom by present-day T'ou-jen.

The girl's parents, without practicing adoption as such, accept the son-in-law in their home as a member of the family and give him their daughter without requiring pecuniary compensation. The son-in-law gets a go-between and two guarantors; a contract is written in which it is stipulated that he will stay with his parents-in-law and /117/ serve them until their death.

Mo 606 591 Among the T'ou-jen what is the legal position of such a son-in-law with respect to his own family and that of his wife?

The case in question is a pure and simple practice belonging to the matriarchate system. It is, indeed, the case of husband-son-in-law who go to live with the parents-in-law for life and who receive the daughter in marriage in exchange for their services. (1) They

Mo 425 606 608

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., pp. 142-143: The transmission of a property through the woman from a clan to another one takes place in the case where the male person

/117 cont'd/
606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[551] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father, he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times, and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly at least in part.

That amply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. Indeed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here. This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this
608 path.
606 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
428 ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

/119 cont'd/

606 608 428 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his property, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have something to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 675 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor; either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/ family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, loving her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

/121 cont'd/
608 178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court [428] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 565 466 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for another, more psychological inactual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 466 606 583 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It it because they know one another in the country and do not want to

/123 cont'd/

Mo 675 606 466 583 be duped all down the line. As a matter of fact, as soon as the girl is 15 and is married, she, like her husband, will want to be more free. She will let him persuade her that one can work everywhere and that there is nothing more to be gained in the home of the parents-in-law. One day there is an argument in the family, and the couple disappears. Now at this moment the family of the parents-in-law will already have profited by at least several years of work by the son-in-law. It rarely happens that the son-in-law is faithful to his pledges to the end. It is then a frail alliance.

Mo 608 606 583 171 The present case is the usual case of husband-sons-in-law. It enjoys a very wide diffusion all over Asia, among the Turkish, Mongol, and Manchu peoples and among the peoples of northern Asia (1),

Ma 606 608 583 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 75: There is also a very interesting custom of getting a wife by personal work in the house of the future father-in-law. A poor man who cannot pay "kalim" through the intermediary of some person asks the bride's father to give him his daughter against his personal work in the house of his future father-in-law. The minimum period of this is three years and the maximum ten years. The future son-in-law lives in the house of his future father-in-law, but he always has his separated spirits and goes to his clan's meetings and sacrifices. After the fixed period is expired, they make a very modest wedding and the young husband brings his wife to his own house or lives in the house of his wife's father as a workman at a fixed salary. Sometimes the father-in-law gives the

/123 cont'd/

Mo 606 608 583

young couple some means to start an independent household. This custom is very broadly practised by the Manchus who consider it as one of the most ancient and purely national institutions. /Cited in English./

Mo [584]

Dr. Herbert Koenig, op. cit., pp. 109-110: The essence of this way of concluding a marriage lies in the fact that the bridegroom thereby begins his wooing, that he performs the most menial work for his future father-in-law, who treats him almost like a slave.... In this case, too, an intermediary sometimes is involved, usually the father, some other close relative, or even a friend, who asks the father of the bride whether the suitor can begin his service for the girl. Page 656: Thus, bride service in all likelihood is limited to the Asiatic side of the Bering Strait and the Aleutians and is lacking among the Eskimo. /Cited in German./

Mo 608 606 583 171

and everywhere they seem to hold this practice in respect. /124/ Among the T'ou-jen, according to what one can see, it creates a good many disagreeable situations; thus it is not surprising to hear the elders declare that this custom is practiced much less nowadays than in the good old days. This custom is still found rather often among the Chinese of Kansu.

3. Purchase of a Girl and Search for a Son-in-law Who Will Serve Their Parents-in-law until Death

Mo 608 583

Another still more risky combination is one often found in reasonably well-to-do families which have no child. They buy a girl,

/124 cont'd/

608 583 they get a husband for her, and they hope that the couple will stay with their benefactors to serve them until their death. This is then the foremost case which occurs with the least chance of success, since the feelings of this stranger will not be comparable to those of a daughter of their own. If there is no hope for them of great material advantages, the couple ends up by going away.

4. Furnishing of One's Person by Adoption in Order to Obtain a Wife

597 583 606 In this category we see the principle of the patriarchate triumphing. This fourth combination is one found in rather rich families who have only one daughter and who adopt a son-in-law in order to give him as a husband to their daughter. The purpose of this arrangement, according to the T'ou-jen, is not to be separated from their daughter and to make her and the son-in-law their lawful heirs.

Now so that this may be possible in a patriarchal system, the son-in-law must exchange his family name for that of his parents-in-law. He must separate himself radically from his own parents and clan in order to recognize his parents-in-law and all /125/ their clan as his own. He must give himself completely to this family, he must make offerings to their ancestors, and in this way he will be able to continue the family line, and at his death be buried in their cemetery. This is, then, the furnishing of services for life at the same time as that of oneself in all its breadth.

From this it is understandable that such an arrangement must raise difficulties on the part of the family; so a whole series of formalities is required in order to bring it about. The father of the family begins by inviting his brothers and announcing his irrevocable decision. So that they will sign the contract of adoption and admit the new son-in-law into the family circle, he will propose bequeathing to them several plots of land after his death; the rest of the holdings will have to fall to the son-in-law and his wife. All that does not proceed without long discussions. Finally, the contract of adoption is signed on the occasion of a family dinner, where the son-in-law makes the great prostration to his new parents; he bows to the religious image honored in the house and burns cypress branches; his

Mo 597 606 583 /125 cont'd/
name is inscribed in the family register in the presence of the whole family; he goes to the clan cemetery to make offerings to the ancestors of his new parents, and goes to the village pagoda to venerate the loca deities, protectors of his adoptive family. (1) This arrange-

Ma [597 858]

1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 61: The adoption of men (among the Manchu) is practised only for children. When the child becomes 6-7 years old the couple who adopt it organize a sacrifice to their clan spirits. They declare to the spirits and to the child adopted, that such and such person is adopted in the clan, and that this person leaves his former clan and spirits and enters into this clan. /Cited in English; French interpolation in parentheses/.

ment presents all the necessary guarantees for a serious and lasting union... but at the price of what sacrifices on the part of the son-in-law.

/126/ Chapter III

Abnormal Marriage

Mo 588 We have seen all the troubles brought on by marriages of girls exchanged for the furnishing either of the person of the son-in-law or his services for a fixed period or for life. Nevertheless, this whole series of marriages is more or less understandable to the European mind; the two series of alliances which follow no longer are. They are the marriages:

/154 cont'd/

3. Importance of the Mother, the Daughter-in-law, the Child, the Maternal Clan

593 562 a) Abnormal interference in the marriage of her children.

In a patriarchal organization the wife does not own anything, she does not count; even her children do not belong to her. Is it not necessary therefore to explain the predominant position of the mother in the marriage rites as being a vestige of a /155/ former matriarchate?

593 562 535 Indeed, the wedding "seems" even in our day to be the business of the mother alone. Without speaking of the marriage promises made between mothers as yet only pregnant, we have seen that the official request for the bride is made by the mother alone. The consent given to the mother alone enjoys all the necessary guarantees so that they can allow themselves to wait four or five years more before getting a go-between. Likewise, when the earnest is discussed, it is again the mother alone who goes to ask for the girl to be married at an early date; only after the mother's request does the go-between appear in order to set the date and the rest. For marriages without ceremony it is the mother again who, with the go-between, goes in complete simplicity to get the bride who is poor. This fact is very significant. Along the way, what the sobbing bride fears most is that they will curse her by cursing her mother; this is the greatest injury that can be done to her.

606 587 593 When one examines present-day customs concerning young widows, one finds it abnormal in a patriarchal organization that the young widow after the 49 days of mourning goes back to her mother's family to stay there until her second marriage. Indeed, she is the property pure and simple of her parents-in-law. It is likewise abnormal that the go-betweens, at the time of the second marriage, address themselves to her own parents before addressing her mother-in-law. Does not that recall the time when the daughter was married at home and had no mother-in-law?

After addressing the mother, the go-between goes to the home of the widow's parents-in-law, and there again he accosts first the mother-in-law, just as if she had the widow-bride at her disposal

/158 cont'd/

606 587 593 ahead of all the other members of the family. What is typical is that they call the money given to the mother-in-law k'ai k'eou ts'ien, "the sum which opens her mouth," for if she does not open her mouth, that is to say, if she does not consent, the marriage comes to nought. /156/

b) Succession on the maternal side.

562 593 88 Without admitting a former matriarchate, how can one explain the situation of the women in the states of marriages to the prayer pole, etc.? In this case the "girl-mother" is seen to enjoy all the rights of a married woman, her children bear her name and inherit in her clan beside the children of her brothers. This is certainly the case which makes [illegible] order of succession, and the property of the family pass on the mother's side. This single case which continues to exist in the middle of a patriarchal period in which the children of daughters as well as their mother are considered as outside the family, deserves all attention.

c) Admission into the family of children born of outsider fathers.

343 Is it not permitted to see vestiges of the matriarchate in the great facility with which they admit into the family the children of daughters-in-law and widows, born certainly of fathers who are outside? partus sequitur ventrem /"offspring proceed from the womb"/: they recognize only the mother. We have seen that here they are in a period of transition which begins to make this practice more and more difficult.

562 421 593 574 d) Frequent family visits of the daughter-in-law and right to keep her property at her mother's home.

Again what can be said of the abnormal custom which allows the daughter-in-law these frequent visits and these long vacations with her family? This custom is not natural in a patriarchal organization where the daughter-in-law is the property of her husband, and where she must give this clan her life, her time, and all her work. This custom gives the impression that the daughter, after marriage, always continues to live with her own family and not that of her husband, (1) all the more /157/ because she keeps at her parents' home

Mo 585 562 /157 cont'd/ her departure? The wedding festivity takes place in the patriarchal system in the bridegroom's family on the same day as the marriage. Mo [171] The departure of the daughter cannot be considered as a reason for rejoicing; also this custom is not found in China. Is it not also a custom of olden times, when one celebrated the arrival of the son-in-law and his entry into the family?

4. Husband-sons-in-law

Mo 608 591 606 We have described above the different forms taken by the husband-sons-in-law practice. The great frequency of this practice in spite of all the troubles it entails, /158/ again brings us back to the former matriarchate. (1) But let us put aside the "fact itself" of this

1. I know only one single case in which a T'ou-jen woman governed her clan. It is that of the widow of the Lou t'ou-sse. It is an isolated case, completely accidental and recent. I see in it no relation whatever with the matriarchate which formerly existed among the T'ou-jen. Mo 592

institution which is essentially matriarchal in order to explain some strange vestiges still met with today relative to this practice.

Formerly, the husband-son-in-law, living in his wife's family, had necessarily to be considered as an intimate member of the family. Now can one not see a vestige of this position of the son-in-law in the fact that at the time of celebrations and of mourning, the son-in-law does not have his place at the dinner among the guests? On the contrary, even today, he is relegated to the kitchen among the intimates of the family. Celebrations and mournings are not a time of rejoicing for him, of feasting and of drinking bouts, but a time during which work is required of him which is considerable and very disagreeable.

Ma 606 We have seen that among the Manchu, when the son-in-law comes to get his bride, he honors first the spirits of that family, then

Ma /158 cont'd/
606 he is made to sit at the bottom of the k'ang on a little bench during the dinner which precedes the departure, while the drivers of the cart take their places at the table. The bridegroom is not treated as a guest there either.

Mo In the same series of facts must again be classed the presence
601 required of the son-in-law at the home of the parents-in-law when
606 the latter have to defend their rights by force, for example, on the occasion of a suicide or the repudiation of one of their daughters.

The fact that the son-in-law calls all the members of his wife's family by the same name that he calls respectively those of his own family, adding gadin, which means "relative by marriage," is rather significant in itself.

Mo All these facts taken together prove not only the existence of
60 the matriarchate among the T'ou-jen at a /158/ previous period, but they even give the illusion, both by their number and by their diversity, that the T'ou-jen still live under this system today. Now that is not true. Their social economy is indubitably patriarchal. The explanation of this fact must be found in this: that they practice these matriarchal rites and customs without understanding them any more, because their ancestors practiced them, because they still continue to
Mo be part of the body of custom. They do not find it strange that the
[604] maternal uncle is called the "master of the bones of his sister's children," that he gives permission to bury the dead, that he presides at weddings, etc. It seems completely natural to them that it is he who enjoys these prerogatives and not the grandfather, solely because he has always enjoyed them. T'ou-jen men of letters, imbued with
Mo Confucianist principles, do not examine this question either, for,
[171] they say, our T'ou-jen ways have always differed from Chinese ways....., and for them all is accounted for.

Thus it is that one understands the coexistence of two systems diametrically opposed to each other and the extreme slowness with which one passes from one social system to another among these peoples. This is also what explains the great diversity one encounters in the ways and customs of the T'ou-jen when one considers them in detail.